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*Indonesian l in Philippine Languages.*—By CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Professor in the University of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

1. *Stability of original l.*—Indonesian *l* (not to be confused with the *l* of the RLD or RGH series) is one of the most stable of the original consonantal sounds of Austronesia. It remains unchanged in most languages of both Indonesian and Polynesian territory. Examples for initial and medial *l* ar Indonesian *lima* 'five' and *walu* 'eight,' which retain the *l* unchanged, not only in a great majority of the Indonesian languages, but also in nearly all the Polynesian speech territory, e. g., Samoan, Fijian, and Hawaiian *lima*, Fij., Haw. *walu*, Sam. *valu*. A conspicuous exception to the general rule in Indonesia is the case of Malagasi, where, in certain dialects, notably the Merina, Betsimisaraka, and Antemuru, an original *l* quite regularly becomes *d* under certain conditions, chiefly before an original *i*, e. g., Merina *dimi* < IN *lima* 'five,' *fidi* < IN *pili* 'choose,'<sup>1</sup> but also initially before *a* and *u*, e. g., Merina *dahilahi* : Malay *laki-laki* 'male'; Merina *dumutrā* : Malay *lumut* 'moss.'<sup>2</sup>

In Philippine territory there ar a few languages showing a sufficient variety of treatment of original *l* to justify special study of the phenomena as classified below.

2. *An l 'cockneyism' in Bisaya.*—The Bisaya language, spoken by three and a half millions of the Malayan population of the southern islands of the archipelago, has a number of dialects, chief of which ar three, the Panayan, spoken in Panay and Occidental Negros; the Cebuan, spoken in Cebú, Oriental Negros, Bohol, and northern Mindanao; and the Bisaya of Sámar and Leyte, spoken in these two islands. In certain parts

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brandstetter, *Die Beziehungen des Malagasy zum Malaiischen*, Lucerne, 1893, p. 26, and *Die Lauterscheinungen in den indonesischen Sprachen*, Lucerne, 1915, p. 32; also Ferrand, *Essai de phonétique comparée du malais et des dialects malgaches*, Paris, 1909, p. X, footnote: (Merina) 'Improprement appelés Hova.' Brandstetter, in his monographs, continues the use of the traditional name, Hova, of the people and language cald Merina by Ferrand.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ferrand, *Essai*, p. 119 f., and, for the examples here given, p. 36, 41.

of the Cebuan territory, notably in Cebú city and the surrounding towns, an intervocalic *l* of any origin is habitually dropt in colloquial pronunciation, e. g., *baái* (without hiatus) for *balái* 'house,' *saápi* for *salápi* 'money,' in both of which cases the *l* is original, and *waá* for *walá*, Fr. *il n'y a pas*, where, as shown by Bikol *wará*, the *l* is the RLD consonant. Compare also *gááb* for *gálab* 'sickle' : Bikol *garáb*. So also *dī* for *dili*, 'not,' *gúa* (or *gúwa*) for *gúla* 'play' (noun and verb), *gúan* (or *gúwan*) for *gulan* 'ripe.' On the other hand, just as in the English cockney speech *h* is pronounst where it does not belong, e. g., 'owhever' for 'however,' so in Cebú and vicinity the insertion of a superfluous *l* is fully as common as the loss of *l* illustrated above, e. g., *galamitón* 'utensil' for *gamitón* from the root *gámit* 'use,' *saláusau* for *sáusau* 'splash,' *kalán'on* for *kán'on* 'food,' *ilimnon* for *imnon* 'drink' from the root *inóm* (or *inúm*). But the Cebuan *l* cockney differs from the English *h* cockney in that the former has not become so fixt and regular as has the latter. The Cebuan's use of *l* where it does not belong is more comparable to the straining for correctness observd in the rustic 'killing chickens in the gardeng on Thanksgiving morning.'

3. *Loss of intervocalic l in Sulu.*<sup>3</sup>—In Sulu, the speech of the Sulu (Spanish orthografy *Joló*) archipelago, which lies to the southwest of Mindanao, original *l* is lost with great regularity between like vowels, with resulting contraction to a single long vowel, e. g., Sula *sā* < IN *sala* 'fault, sin,' Sulu *hās* : Bikol, Bisaya *halas* 'snake,' Sulu *bī* < \**bili* < IN *bēli* 'buy,' Sulu *pī* < IN *pīli* 'choose,' Sulu *ō* (close *o*) < IN *ulu* 'hed,' Sulu *tō* < \**tolo* < IN *tēlu* 'three.' Between two dissimilar vowels the *l* is retaind in some words and lost in others without any apparent rule, e. g., Sulu *balik* : Malay *balik* 'return,' *tuli* : Malay *tūli* 'def,' *bulan* : IN *bulan* 'moon,' *walu* < IN *walu* 'eight,' with retention of *l*, but Sulu *ūi* < IN *uli* 'turn,' *tāina* < IN *talina* 'ear.' An intervocalic *l* from RLD is also lost in not a few cases, e. g., Sulu *tōg* : Bikol *turóg*, Bisaya (Cebuan) *túlog*, Bagobo *tódog* 'sleep'; Sulu *kauhan* < \**ka-luha-an* (Bis. Ceb. *kaluha'an*) 'twenty'

<sup>3</sup> Blake, *Contributions to Philippine Grammar*, JAOS. 27 (1906), p. 333, 334, noted the loss of original intervocalic *l* in Tagalog and Sulu: 'An original intervocalic *l* is lost in Tagalog and Sulu,' without any reference to its retention in both languages in cases too numerous to be regarded exceptional.

from *duha*, IN *rua*, *lua*, *dua*, 'two'; but retained in others, e. g., Sulu *tālu* : Bikol *táro*, Bagobo *tádo* 'beeswax.' It is retained in Sulu *walá* 'not yet' (cf. Bikol *wará* 'there is not') but lost in this same word when the suffix *i* is added, Sulu *wāi* < \**waaí* < \**wala-i* 'there is not' (cf. Cebuan *walái*, Samar-Leyte *warái*). Further examples of retention of the RLD *l* are such common words as Sulu *ilon* : Malay *hidon* 'nose' and Sulu *kāloh* : Malay *gādoh* 'make a noise.'

The loss of intervocalic *l* is much more extensive in Sulu than in any other language of the Philippines, but there is here no cockney use of *l* where it does not belong, as is found in the Cebuan dialect of Bisaya.

4. *Loss of intervocalic l in Tagalog.*—Tagalog loss of intervocalic (original) *l*, while very common, is far from universal, even between like vowels. Many words showing loss of *l* in Sulu retain it in Tagalog, e. g., Tagalog *sála* : Sulu *sā* 'fault, sin,' Tag. *úlo* : Sulu *ō* 'head,' Tag. *píli* : Sulu *pī* 'choose,' Tag. *bílí* : Sulu *bī* 'barter,' Tag. *suló* : Sulu *sō* 'torch,' Tag. *ulí* : Sulu *ūi* 'turn, repeat.' A few lose in Tagalog an original *l* that is retained in Sulu, e. g., Tag. *búan* : Sulu *búlan* 'moon,' Tag. *túid* (or *túwid*) : Sulu *túlíd* 'straight.' Tagalog does not, like Sulu, contract two like vowels brought together by syncopation of *l*,<sup>4</sup> but either leaves a hiatus, represented by *hamza*, as in Tag. *da'an* : Bis. *dalan* : Sulu *dān* 'way'; or inserts a secondary *h*, as in Tag. *báhai* : IN *balai* : Sulu *bāi* 'house'; or, in the case of a labial vowel, *u* (*o*), the labial glide *w*, as in Tag. *púwo* : IN *pulu* : Sulu *pō* 'ten.' Sometimes *h* takes the place of the lost *l*, even between *u*-vowels, as in Tag. *úhod* : Bisaya *úlod* : Sulu *ūd* 'worm,' which, however, is in Tagalog more commonly pronounced *úod* or *úwod*.

Tagalog and Sulu agree in retaining *l* between *a* and *i* in *bálik* 'return' and in dropping it between the same two vowels in Tag., Sulu *taina* < IN *talina* 'ear.' They also agree in retaining it in *walú* 'eight' and *díla* 'tung.' IN *balu* 'widowed' retains its *l* in Sulu *bālū* and formerly did in Tagalog *bálo*, which, however, has lost the *l* within the last two hundred years, becoming *bāo*. Tag. *walá* 'left (hand)' retains an original *l* between two *a*'s as in Tag. *sála*. In the corresponding

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Blake, *op. cit.*, p. 333, 334, and Conant, *The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages*, in *Anthropos* 7 (1912), p. 924.

Sulu *lāwa* < *walā* by metathesis, the *l* is retained, as regularly in initial position, the metathesis antedating the Sulu loss of intervocalic *l*.

In the material examined for this study there has been found no example of intervocalic loss of Tagalog *l* of the RLD series. Here again, Tagalog differs from Sulu and the Cebuan 'cockney' in that it seems to preserve a clearer distinction in pronunciation between the *l*'s of different origin.

Tagalog loses final *l* after *i* in a considerable number of root words, e. g., Tag. *biní* : Bis., Bkl. *bunúl* 'def,' where Tag. has *i* regularly for original *pepet* in both syllables; Tag. *hábi* : Iloko, Pang. *abél*, Pamp. *abál*, Bkl., Bis., Bagobo *hábul* 'weave'; Tag. *katí* : Tir. *katel*, Batán *katex*, Ibk. *katál*, Bis., Bagobo *katúl* 'itch.' Malagasi *hati* 'itch' agrees with Tag. in the loss of final *l*.<sup>5</sup> In all the above examples the vowel of the final syllable is from *pepet*. Final *l* is lost after an original *i* in Tag. *tapí* : Phil. *tapil* 'flatten.' But Tag. final *l* is retained in reduplicated bases of the type Tag. *sílsíl* : Phil. *sělsěl* 'repent,' and frequently in other roots, e. g., Tag. *gítíl* 'pluck,' *kípíl* 'pellet.' The Tag. development is doubtless the same as in Fr. *gentil*.

5. *Loss of intervocalic l in Bontok.*<sup>6</sup>—The Bontok Igorots, celebrated for their cultivation of rice by the terracing of their mountainous province in North Luzón, are representatives of the most primitive of the Philippine Malays. Bontok shows loss of intervocalic *l* in a number of words, e. g., Bont. *fúan* < IN *bulan* 'moon,' *fävi* < IN *balai* 'house,' *úweg* : Pangasinan *ulég* : Malay *ular* 'snake,' the last example inserting the labial glide *w*, as does Tagalog *puwo* < IN *pulu* 'ten.' In Bontok, 'ten' is generally pronounced *póo*, but *pólo* is also heard. The loss is, however, less common in Bontok than in Tagalog. The *l* is retained in Bontok *čálan* : Tag. *dá'an* : Sulu *dān* < Philip. *dalan* 'way'; *tólo* 'three'; *ólo* 'hed'; *ili* : Iloko *ili* 'town'; *pili* 'choose'; *wálo* 'eight'; *čila* : Tag. *díla* 'tung'; *pilai* < IN *pīlai* 'lame.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ferrand, *Essai*, p. 121, 122, who also gives examples of loss of final *l* after other vowels in Mlg.

<sup>6</sup> Authorities consulted for Bontok: Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, in *Ethnological Survey Publications*, vol. 1, Manila, 1905; Clapp, *Vocabulary of the Igorot Language as Spoken by the Bontoc Igorots*, in *Div. of Eth. Pub.*, vol. 5, part 3, Manila, 1908; Seidenadel, *The Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot*, Chicago, 1909.

The *l* that regularly represents the RGH consonant in Bontok<sup>7</sup> is lost in Bontok *wăt* < \**uwăt* < \**uăt* < \**ulăt* : Tag. *ugát* 'vein,' but retained in Bontok *falá* : Tag. *bagá* : Iloko *bará* 'lung.'

Bontok changes final *l* to *i* in *aföi* : Pang. *abel* 'weave'; *kätöi* : Ibk. *katál* 'itch.'

6. *Loss of intervocalic l in Kankanai.*<sup>8</sup> The language of the Kankanai Igorots of the sub-province of Benguet, North Luzón, drops intervocalic *l* in Kankanai (*sim*)*pó* < IN *pulu* 'ten'; *búwan* : IN *bulan* 'moon'; *waó* < IN *walu* 'eight'; but retains it in *dila* 'tung,' and in *toló* 'three.' The RGH consonant regularly becomes *l* in Kankanai.<sup>9</sup> This *l* is lost in Kankanai *uwat* : IN *urat*, *ugat*, *uhat* 'vein,' which, like Kankanai *búwan*, has the labial glide *w*.

7. *Loss of intervocalic l in Samal.*<sup>10</sup> The language of Samal Island, Gulf of Davao, South Mindanao, quite regularly drops intervocalic *l*, e. g., Samal *toó* < \**tolo* < IN *tělu* 'three'; *makasasaá* : Phil. *makasasala* 'sinner,' without contraction of the concurrent like vowels, but *po* < \**polo* < IN *pulu* 'ten' with contraction; *waó* : IN *walu* 'eight.'

Loss of original *l* is rather rare elsewhere in Indonesia and Polynesia. In Indonesian territory, the Vonum<sup>11</sup> dialect of Formosa regularly loses intervocalic *l*, and may lose it initially also, e. g., Vonum *ima* 'hand' beside *hima* 'five,' both from IN *lima* (see below, par. 12). Botel Tobago (the speech of an island of that name S. of Formosa) loses intervocalic *l* in some words and changes it to *r* in others. Initially it is *l* or *r*. In Polynesian territory there is one language, that of the Marquesas Islands, which loses original *l* in all positions.

<sup>7</sup> See my *RGH Law in Philippine Languages*, JAOS. 31 (1910), p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> Scheerer, *The Batán Dialect as a Member of the Philippine Group of Languages*, in *Div. of Ethnol. Pub., Bu. of Science*, vol. 5, part 1, Manila, 1908, was furnished a Kankanai word list by Mariano Lagasca of Kapangan village. In 1903 I collected a list of fifty words from eight Kankanai boys at Baguio, Benguet.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Conant, *RGH Law*, p. 73, 74.

<sup>10</sup> Material from Montano, *Rapport à M. le ministre de l'instruction publique sur une mission aux îles Philippines et en Malaisie* (1879-1881), Paris, 1885.

<sup>11</sup> Material for Vonum and Botel Tobago from Scheerer, *Batán Dialect*. Brandstetter, *Lauterscheinungen*, p. 32, cites Boano *bae* (IN *balai*) 'house.'

VONUM	BOTEL TOBAGO	MARQUESAS <sup>12</sup>	INDONESIAN	
vão	wao	vau	walu	eight
	pou or po	huu	pulu	ten
tão	a turu	tou	tělu	three
ima or hima	lima or rima	iima	lima	five
taíña		puaina	taliña	ear

The Melanesian languages of British New Guinea<sup>13</sup> quite regularly lose an original *l* in all positions, e. g., *toi*, *koi*, *oi* (IN *tělu*); *ima*, *imaima* (IN *lima*); *taia*, *kaia*, *haia* (IN *taliña*) 'ear.'

An Indo-European parallel is the regular loss of intervocalic *l* in Portuguese, e. g., *ceo* < *caelu*, *só* < *solu*, *voar* < *volare*, where like vowels contract as in Sulu.

8. *Original l in Mandaya*.<sup>14</sup> The Mandaya speech of East Mindanao loses *l* in Mandaya *óo* < IN *ulu* 'hed'; *dan* < Phil. *dalan* 'way'; *buahan* : Bisaya *bulahan* 'fortunate'; *kawá* : Banuáon *kawalá* (*ka*+*wala*, cf. Tag., Bis., Bkl. *walá*) 'left (hand),' but retains it in *atúli* : Bkl., Iloko *tulí* 'earwax' and *taliña* 'lug, projection' : Bkl. *taliña* 'ear, lug.' Final *l* regularly becomes *i* in Mandaya, e. g., *buibúi* : Tag., Bis., etc. *bulbúl* 'pubic hair'; *ábui* : Bis., Bkl. *hábol* 'weave.' Furthermore, this tendency to palatalize *l* to *i* or *y* is seen even in intervocalic position, where, in some words *l* may be either lost or changed to *y*, e. g., Mandaya *sáup* or *sáyup* : Bis *sálop* 'set (of heavenly bodies)'; *páyad* or *pái'ad* : Tag., Bis., Pampanga *pálad* 'palm (of hand),' another example of Tag. retention of *l* between like vowels. The change of *l* to *i* or *y* is regular in Palau (Caroline Islands),<sup>15</sup> e. g., Palau *búiel* < IN *bulan* 'moon' and Palau *púi* < IN *bulu* 'pubic hair,' which is exactly parallel with Mandaya *buibúi* given above, this being the reduplicated IN *bul(u)bul(u)*.

<sup>12</sup> Examples from Mosblech, *Vocabulaire océanien-français et français-océanien des dialectes parlés aux îles Marquises, Sandwich, Gambier, etc.*, Paris, 1843.

<sup>13</sup> Ray, *The Languages of British New Guinea*, in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 24 (1894) p. 15-39, and *Polynesian Linguistics: Past and Future*, in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.*, 21, no. 2, p. 65-76.

<sup>14</sup> Material furnished by Mr. J. M. Garvan to Mr. E. E. Schneider for his *Notes on the Mangyan Language*, in *Phil. Journ. of Sci.*, vol. 7, no. 3, sec. D, Manila, 1912.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Conant, *Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language*, JAOS. 35 (1915), p. 8, 9.

For *l* > *i* or *y* in Isinai, see 9. Brandstetter<sup>16</sup> has pointed out the change of intervocalic *l* to *y* in Bare'e (Central Celebes), e. g., Bare'e *jaya* : Malay *jalan*, Bis. *dalan* 'way.' For Indo-European analogies, compare the French *l* (*ll*) *mouillé* and the change of Latin *ll* to American Spanish *y* as in *caballo*, American pronunciation *cabayo*. The same change occurs in certain of the Finno-Ugrian languages.<sup>17</sup>

9. *Original l in Isinai*.<sup>18</sup> The speech of the Isinai mountaineers of central North Luzón retains original *l* unchanged except when brot into contact with an initial consonant thru loss of an intervening atonic vowel, in which case the *l* becomes *i* (*y*), e. g. Isinai *tiu* < \**tlu* < IN *tělu* 'three'; *piu* < IN *pulu* 'ten'; *lia'i* < \**lla'i* < *lalaki* reduplicated form of IN *laki* 'male'; *wiu* (or *weu*) < IN *walu* 'eight.'

10. *Original l in Sambali*. Sambali, spoken in the province of Zambales, West coast of North Luzón, is divided into several dialects. One of these, that spoken in and around the village of Bolinao, regularly changes original *l* to *r*. It also regularly has *r* in all cases where the other Sambali dialects hav a non-original *l*. The words in the following table ar taken from Reed.<sup>19</sup>

## SAMBALI OF BOLINAO    SAMBALI OF IBA    SAMBALI-AETA

óro	ólo	ólo	hed
díra	díla	díla	tung
ránit	lánit	lánit	sky
búran	búlan	búan	moon
táro	tólo	tátlo	three
káro	kálo	kálo	eight
ríma	líma	líma	five
púro	pólo	po	ten

The above examples show original *l*; the following the *l* of the RLD series.

<sup>16</sup> *Lauterscheinungen*, p. 32.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Conant, *Grammatical Notes on the Isinai Language*, JAOS. 35 (1915), p. 290.

<sup>19</sup> W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, in *Ethnol. Surv. Pub.*, 2 (1904), part 1.



## SAMBALI OF

## BOLINAO

rúa

sára

báker

ránom

## SAMBALI OF IBA

lúa

ríla

bákil

lánom

## SAMBALI-AETA

lúa

híla

bákil

lánom

two

they

mountain

water

In the Sambali-Aeta we have again sporadic loss of intervocalic *l*, as seen in *búan* and *po* of the above table.

In several Indonesian languages original *l* becomes *r* by assimilation to an *r* of the same word. Languages regularly showing this assimilation are Toba, Ngaju (Dayak), Malagasi, Iloko, Bikol, Tirurai, and Bagobo, the last four of which are Philippine languages. Examples are Toba, Ngaju *rayar* beside Malay *layar*, Tag. *layag* 'sail'; Toba *rarat*, Malagasi *raratrâ* beside Malay *larat* 'scatter'; Iloko, Toba, Ngaju *ruar* beside Sundanese *luar* 'outside, except'; Bikol *râra* beside Samar Bisaya *lâra* 'weave matting'; Tirurai *rebur* beside Malay *lebur* 'roil, disturb' (where final *r* in both Tirurai and Malay is the RGH consonant); Bagobo, Tirurai *roros* beside Samar Bisaya *loros* 'lower (sail, etc.).' In all these languages *l* becomes *r* only under assimilative influence, the change not being spontaneous as in the cases under special consideration in this paper.

In the Gayo<sup>20</sup> language of Sumatra, *r* often stands in the place of Indonesian *l* as the result of metathesis according to the following rule: In Gayo words having both *l* and *r*, the order of the two liquids must be *rl*, never *lr*. If the liquids stand in the order *lr* in other languages, metathesis takes place in Gayo.

Arabic, Malay *lahir*Gayo *rahil* evidentMalay *larat*Gayo *ralat* extend, spreadMalay *luruh*, Toba *ruru*Gayo *ruluh* fall (as leaves)

In a large number of Formosan dialects *l* quite regularly becomes *r* in all positions. In a smaller number it sometimes remains and is sometimes changed to *r*. A dialect in which the change is regular is the Favorlang, e. g., Favorlang *rima* 'hand' (IN *lima*); *tarran*<sup>21</sup> (Bisaya *dâlan*) 'way'; *torroa* (IN *têlu*) 'three'; *čarrina* (IN *talîna*) 'ear'; *tazirra* (Bis. *dîla*) 'tung.'

<sup>20</sup> Hazeu, *Gajösch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Batavia, 1907.

<sup>21</sup> The Favorlang words here given are copied from Rev. Wm. Campbell's edition of Hapart's *Favorlang Vocabulary*, London, 1896. For further examples of *l* > *r* in Formosan dialects, see Scheerer's comparative list of Philippine and Formosan numerals in his *Batán Dialect*, table I, opp. p. 89.

Among the scores of Borneo languages and dialects compared in Ray's monumental work<sup>22</sup> there are a dozen dialects of the so-called Land Dayaks of the south-western corner of Sarawak, West Borneo, that, with varying regularity, change original *l* to *r*. Only one of the Land Dayak dialects given by Ray, the Mili-kin, retains the *l* in all positions.

DIALECT	<i>five</i>	<i>sky</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>bone</i>	<i>skin</i>	<i>tung</i>
Lara	rima	lañit	taru	turañ	kurit	—
Lundu	rimo	—	taru	tulañ	kulit	jera
Krokong	—	loñit	—	turañ	kurit	jora
Singhi	rimūch	rōñit	taruch	turañ	kurit	jarah
Grogo	limo	lañit	taru	tulañ	kulit	jora
Sennah	—	rañgit (rañit)	—	turach'n (turañ)	kurit	jěrah
Quop	rimūh	rañit	taru	turañ	kurit	jura
Sentah	rimūch	lañit	taruch	tulañ	kurit	jura
Beta	rimūh	rañit	taruh	turañ	kurit	jura
Sau	limo	loñit	taru	—	—	jarah
Sadong	rimōh	rañit	taru	turañ	—	jeli
Milikin	—	lañit	—	tuloñ	kulit	delah
Bunau	—	riñit	—	—	kurid	—

Of the Polynesian languages, the Tahitian and the Rapanui (Easter Island)<sup>23</sup> regularly change *l* to *r*, e. g., Tah., Rap. *rima* 'five'; Tah. *fare*, Rap. *hare* : IN *balai* 'house'; Tah., Rap. *varu* : IN *walu* 'eight.'

For Indo-European changes of original *l* to *r*, compare the Indo-Iranian *r* < I. E. *l*, e. g., Sansk. *rócate* 'shines' : Avestan *raocah-* 'light' : O. Persian *rauča<sup>h</sup>* 'day' : Armenian *lois* 'light' : Gr. *λευκός* 'white' : Lat. *lūx* : Gothic *liuhap*, 'light' : Lithuanian *laũkas* 'pale light.' Compare especially the Sanskrit confusion of *l* and *r*, even in the same root, e. g., Sansk. *rócate* 'shines,' but *locana* 'eye.' For Romance, compare the Rumanian and Portuguese change of Latin *l* to *r* under certain conditions, e. g., Rum. *care* < Lat. *quale*; Port. *prazo* : Span. *plazo* < Lat. *placitum*.

<sup>22</sup> Ray, Sidney H., *The Languages of Borneo*, in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol. 1, no. 4 (November, 1913).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Jaussen, *Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue maorie, dialecte tahitien*, Paris, 1860, and Churchill, *The Rapanui Speech and the Peopling of Southeast Polynesia*, Washington, 1912.

The non-existence of *l* in the Japanese is well known. All Chinese loan words having the sound *l* change this to *r* in Japanese.

The reverse is the case in Chinese, which, in most dialects of importance, has only *l*.

In Korean, the same character is used for *l* and *r*, showing that the two sounds were originally not sufficiently distinct to require different symbols.

11. *Original l in Inibaloi*.<sup>24</sup> The Ibaloi Igorots of the sub-province of Benguet, North Luzón, regularly change an initial *l* to *d*. In this Inibaloi agrees with Merina and other *dialectes à dentale*<sup>25</sup> of Madagascar.

	INIBALOI	MERINA	
IN laki	daɣi	dahi	male
IN lima	dima	dimi	five
IN lañit	dañit	dañitrã	sky

Other examples for IN initial *l* in Inibaloi are *dana* : Phil. *lana* 'oil'; *daman* : Tag., Pamp. *laman* 'flesh'; *duson* : Tag. *luson* 'mortar.'

Inibaloi is very closely related to the Pangasinan, its next-door neighbor to the South. A Pangasinan *l* of any origin is treated like original *l* in Inibaloi, e. g., Inib. *dúpa* : Pang. *lúpa* : Malay, Toba *rupa* < Sansk. *rūpa* 'face.' This is, of course, not the RLD consonant, which would become *d* initially in Pangasinan, as in *duá* 'two,' but is the RL consonant seen in *ribu*, *libu* 'thousand,' *surat*, *sulat* 'write' and in many words borrowed from Sanskrit and Arabic.

Any Pangasinan *l*, original or otherwise, becomes *d* in Inibaloi when in contact with *i*, except after *či* < *dī* (*d* of RLD), e. g., Inibaloi *idóko* : Pang., Iloko *ilóko* 'Iloko'; *Manida* : Pang. *Manila* 'Manila'; *tañida* < IN *talina* 'ear' by metathesis, cf. Magindanao *tañila*; *sadí* : Pang. *salí* 'foot'; but *čilá* : Pang. etc. *dílá* 'tung.' Evidently, the Inibaloi change of initial *d* (RLD) to *č* was later than that of *l* > *d*, the retention of the original *l* in Inibaloi speech being at first to avoid the repetition of the dental in such a form as \**dida*. The *l* thus remained long

<sup>24</sup> Scheerer, *The Nabaloï Dialect*, in *Ethnol. Surv. Pub.*, vol. 2, part 2, Manila 1905, p. 102, has called attention to the Inibaloi change of *l* to *d*.

<sup>25</sup> See Ferrand, *op. cit.*, *Introduction*, p. xlii.

enuf to establish itself permanently before the change  $d > \check{c}$  had taken place. The same change of *l* to *d* in contact with *i* is regular in Batán. (See below, 12.)

But a large number of cases of Inibaloi change of *l* to *d* in non-initial position are found alongside a smaller number in which the *l* remains unchanged.

INIBALOI	NON-INIBALOI	
badat	Tag., Pamp. balat	skin
eɣduk	Tag. itlog	egg
Igúdut	Pang. Igólót	Igorot
takdai	Pang. taklai	arm
sudat	Pang. surat, Tag., Malay surat	write
bado	Pang. balo, Tag. bago	new
abada	Pang. abala, Ilk. abaga	shoulder

With *l* unchanged:

INIBALOI	NON-INIBALOI	
bulan	IN bulan	moon
gualo	IN walu	eight
pulo	IN pulu	ten
balo	IN balu	widowed
čala	Pang. dala, Ibk. daga	blood

12. *Original l in Batán.*<sup>26</sup> The Batán language, spoken on the three islands, Batán, Sabtang, and Ivuhos, lying off the North coast of Luzón, changes original *l* to  $\chi$  at the end of a syllable, to *h* before vowels except when preceded or followed by *i*, and to *d* in contact with *i* when a vowel follows.

Examples of Batán  $\chi < \text{IN } l$ :

<sup>26</sup> Sources: Scheerer, *Batán Dialect*; Dominican missionaries (not named), *Nu Mapia Amigo anmana Devocioanrio du chirin nu Ibatán*, Manila, 1901; *Visitas du Santísimo caní Santa María*, Manila, 1901; Franco de Paula and Nicolás Castaño, *Diccionario Español y Batán* (Date and place uncertain. About two hundred items of this work have been copied by Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, Vol. 2, Madrid, 1896, (Prólogo, p. xiii-xix); José Rodríguez, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana*, Manila, 1834 (reprinted by Retana, *op. cit.*, p. 260-306); *Diccionario Español-Ibatán por Varios PP. Dominicos Misioneros de las Islas Batanes*, ed. by Scheerer, Manila, 1914; Conant, a list of two hundred words compiled at Aparri and Clavería, North coast of Luzón, 1904, 1905. The Batán change of *l* to *h* or  $\chi$  was pointed out in my *RGH Law*, p. 82, and *Pepet*

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
akteχ	Mgd. katel, Ib. katal, Bis. katul	itch
seχseχ	Pang. selsel, Bis. sulsul, Ib. tattal	repent
tuχtuχ	Ib. *tuttul (<tultul)	forge
aχpet	Ilk. lipit	cover
iχtau	Tag. litau	float

The first example and the last two show secondary metathesis in the first syllable, a very common trait of Batán, in which respect it closely resembles Pampanga.<sup>27</sup>

Examples of Batán *h* < IN *l*:

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
hañít	IN lañit	sky
hakái	IN laki	male
husuñ	Tag. lusoñ	mortar
vahái (bahái)	IN balai	house
wahó	IN walu	eight
uhó	IN ulu	hed
tuhañ	IN tulañ	bone

Examples of Batán *d* < IN *l* in contact with *i*:

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
dima	IN lima, cf. Inib. dima, Mlg. dimi	five
disaa	Tag. lisá, Ilk. lis'á	nit
dičod	Tag. likód	back
divun	Bis. libón	surround
tadiña	IN taliña	ear
padit	IN palit	sell
rida	Tag., Bis. dila	tung

*Law in Philippine Languages*, in *Anthropos*, vol. 7 (1912), p. 940. Batán *h* and *χ* are both represented in Span. orthography by *j* in all the works given above except the two printed by Retana, where *g* is everywhere employed. It was on the basis of these two sources that Blake, *op. cit.*, p. 334, speaks of the change of *l* to *g*. Brandstetter, *Lauterscheinnungen*, p. 32, also still quotes Batán as one of the several languages changing *l* to *g*, doubtless on the basis of the same material. Scheerer, in his *Notas sobre la fonología del Batán* introducing his edition of the *Diccionario Español-Ibatán*, has stated the rule (pp. xv, xvi) as to Batán *h* and *χ*, but makes no reference to the *l* > *d* change, tho he has accidentally given an example of it under another hed (*tadiña* par. ii).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. my *Monosyllabic Roots in Pampanga*, JAOS. 31 (1911), p. 390.

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
pidai	Tag., Ibk. pilai	lame
idi	Ilk. ili	town
vidi	Tag. bili	buy
pidi	IN pili	choose

Original *l* also appears to become *d* in the combination *tl* before any vowel, cf. Batán *tatdú* < \**tatlu* < \**tetlu* 'three' and *atden* < \**atlen* < Phil. *těln* 'swallow.' The same root *těln* appears in Batán *tetexnan* 'gullet' with reduplication of the first syllable and the locativ suffix *-an* : *te-texn-an* < \**te-teln-an*, lit. 'place of swallowing,' in which form the *l* becomes *χ* according to rule.

The *l* > *h*(*χ*) development is quite rare in Indonesian. Brandstetter<sup>28</sup> says *l* becomes *h* in Formosan dialects in certain cases and givs as example 'Fm. *who*' (IN *ulu*) without naming any dialect. Scheerer<sup>29</sup> givs the same word, *who*, as the word for 'hed' in the dialect cald Pei Po Kuvarawan. But all the other words of that dialect cited by Scheerer show *r* for original *l*, e. g. *vūran* (IN *bulan*), *waru* (IN *walu*), *rīma* (IN *lima*), except *tusu* (IN *tělu*) 'three' whose *s* is doutless due to analogy, the *s* of PPK *isa* 'one' being first extended to *dusa* (IN *rua*, *lua dua*) 'two,' a thing which has taken place in sixteen other Formosan dialects, according to the examples given by Scheerer, and one step farther in this particular dialect, giving *tusu* insted of \**turu* which we should expect. A glance at Scheerer's table of the cardinal numerals in Formosan dialects shows so great a prevalence of the *l* > *r* change as to make it wel-nigh a characteristic of Formosan speech. In looking over the entire Formosan material of Scheerer's remarkable collation, I find only one other example of *h* in the place of IN *l*, that of Vonum *hima* (IN *lima*), in which dialect *l* is regularly lost, e. g., *īma* 'hand,' *voan* (IN *bulan*) 'moon,' *tāo* (IN *tělu*) 'three,' *vāo* (IN *walu*) 'eight' (cf. 7, abov).

In view, therefore, of the isolated *h* of PPK *who* (IN *ulu*), which is possibly erroneously written for *uro*, and of Vonum *īma* beside *hima* (IN *lima*) 'five' or 'hand,' showing that, even initially, *l* does not always become *h* in Vonum, it would appear that a Formosan *l* > *h* change is too uncertain to justify its citation as an example. On the other hand these same dialects

<sup>28</sup> *Lauterscheinungen*, p. 32.

<sup>29</sup> *Batán Dialect*, p. 44.

might well have been used by Brandstetter to exemplify the  $l > r$  change instead of Toba, where the change is not spontaneous, but due to assimilation, e. g., Toba *rapar* (Mal. *lapar*), and hence occurring only in words having an assimilating *r*.

13. *Original l in Ilongot (Egongot).*<sup>30</sup> In Ilongot, the speech of a very primitive tribe of the North Luzón mountains, Indonesian *l* regularly becomes *g*, as indicated in the native pronunciation of the tribal name itself, *Igongot* or *Egongot*.

ILONGOT	NON-ILONGOT	
tego	IN tēlu	three
gema 'hand'	IN lima	five
gake	IN laki	male
uge	IN uli	again, back
degin	Pang. dálin	erth
tegteg	Pang., Ilk. selsél, Tag. silsíl, Bis. sulsúl, Pamp. salsál, Ib. tattál, Batan seḡseḡ	crush, squeeze, make penitent

In the last example, *tegteg*, where the vowel is from IN *pepet*, Ilongot changes IN *s* to *t*, as in Ilongot *ta-m-poo* (Pang. *sam-polo*) lit. 'one ten,' where *ta* < IN *sa*, the accentless by-form of IN *ěsa* 'one,' and as in Ilongot *ta-m-bian* 'five,' lit. 'one portion,' where *bian* is identical with Pang. *bian* 'to apportion.' Ilongot *poo* (IN *pulu*) points to a sporadic loss of intervocalic *l*, presumably only between like vowels.

14. *Recapitulation.*—(a) Original *l* remains unchanged in the majority of Austronesian languages and also in the majority of Philippine idioms, notwithstanding the considerable number in which it is lost or changed (1).

<sup>30</sup> The Ilongot words are taken from a MS copy in my possession of an old manuscript *Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana en Egongot* revised at Batangas, Principe (now Tayabas) Province, 1792, by three friars, Casimiro de Tembleque, Tomás Martí, and Francisco de la Zarza. This catechism has been published by Blumentritt, *Katechismus der katholischen Glaubenslehre in der Ilongoten-Sprache verfasst von P. Fray Francisco de la Zarza, in Druck gelegt und mit Aequivalenten des Ilongot-Textes in spanischer, beziehungsweise tagalischer und maguindanauischer Sprache*, Vienna, 1893. Scheerer, in an interesting article *On a Quinary Notation among the Ilongot of Northern Luzón*, in *Phil. Journ. of Sci.*, 6 (1911), p. 47-49, has called attention to the Ilongot change  $l > g$ .

(b) Loss of intervocalic *l* occurs in the *l*-cockney speech of the Bisaya of Cebú city and vicinity (2), in the Sulu language, with resulting contraction of like vowels (3), in Tagalog, but without resulting contraction of like vowels, the lost *l* being replaced in some words by a breathing (*h*) or by a labial semi-vowel (*w*) as a glide (4), in Bontok with varied treatment of the concurrent vowels (5), as also in Kankanai (6), Samal (7), and Mandaya (8). In non-Philippine Austronesian territory the same loss is observed in the Formosan dialects Vonum and Botel Tobago, in Boano, in the speech of the Marquesas islanders (7), and in a number of Melanesian languages of New Guinea (7). For Indo-European, the same loss is regular in Portuguese (7).

(c) Final *l* is often lost after *i* in Tagalog, with which is compared the Malagasi loss of final *l* and the French final *l-mouillé* of *gentil* (4). This development is of the same nature as the change of *l* to *i* (*y*) summarized in the following paragraph.

(d) Original *l* becomes *i* (*y*) in Bontok, when final (5), in Mandaya regularly in final position and frequently between vowels (8), and under certain conditions in Isinai (9). Beyond Philippine territory, the same change is regular in intervocalic position in Bare'e, and in all positions in Palau (Caroline Is.) except in the combination *bl*. Indo-European parallels to this change are the French *l* (*ll*)-*mouillé* and the American *y* pronunciation of Spanish *ll*. Certain Finno-Ugrian languages show the same change.

(e) Original *l* becomes *r* in the Bolinao dialect of Sambali (10). Where *r* appears in place of *l* in the Philippine languages Iloko, Bikol, Tirurai, and Bagobo, the change is due to assimilation with an *r* of the same word, as is the case in Toba, Ngaju, and Malagasi. In non-Philippine Austronesian territory, *l* becomes *r* in a number of Formosan and Borneo languages and in two Polynesian languages, Tahitian and Rapanui. Indo-European parallels to the *l* > *r* change are found in Sanskrit, Avestan, Persian, Rumanian, and Portuguese. In Japanese all *l*'s become *r*, and in Korean the same character is used for both liquids (10).

(f) Original *l* becomes *d* in Inibaloi, regularly in initial position and frequently in other positions (11), and in Batán when in contact with *i* and when followed by a vowel (12). In extra-Philippine territory the same change takes place in the *dialec-*



*tes à dentale* of Madagascar (1, 11). Batán changes *tl* to *td* before any vowel (12).

(g) Original *l* becomes  $\chi$  at the end of a syllable in Batán (12).

(h) Original *l* becomes *h* in Batán before a vowel, except when preceded or followed by *i* (12).

(i) Original *l* becomes *g* in Ilongot (13).

15. *Conclusion*.—It has been the object in the preparation of this paper, merely to trace and classify the various sounds evolved from original *l* within Philippine territory, with some reference to similar changes elsewhere in Austronesia and in other families of speech. The treatment of any non-original *l* (from RLD, RGH, or RL) has been purposely avoided except in those cases where all *l*'s have fallen together and suffered the same later development.